TWO

LETTERS from JUNIUS

TO THE

D— of G—,

On the SALE of a PATENT PLACE in the CUSTOMS at EXETER.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A LETTER from JUNIUS,

CONTAINING

An ADDRESS ſuppoſed to have been made to a great Perſonage.

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In a few Days will be published,

A COLLECTION of POPULAR LETTERS, written by the moſt celebrated PATRIOTS of the preſent Age; moſt of them reviſed by the reſpective Authors.

Nov. 29th, 1769.

To his Grace the Duke of GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

THOUGH my opinion of your Grace's integrity was but little affected by the coyneſs with which you received Mr. Vaughan's propoſals, I confeſs I gave you ſome credit for your diſcretion. You had a fair opportunity of diſplaying a certain delicacy, of which you had not been ſuſpected; and you were in the right to make uſe of it. By laying in a moderate ſtock of reputation, you undoubtedly meant to provide for the future neceſſities of your character, that, with an honourable reſiſtance upon record, you might ſafely indulge your genius, and yield to a favourite inclination with ſecurity. But you have diſcovered your purpoſes too ſoon, and, inſtead of the modeſt reſerve of virtue, have ſhewn us the termagant chaſtity of a prude, who gratifies her paſſions with diſtinction, and proſecutes one lover for a rape, while ſhe ſolicits the lewd embraces of another.

Your cheek turns pale: for a guilty conſcience tells you, you are undone.—Come forward, thou virtuous miniſter, and tell the world by what intereſt Mr. Hine has been recommended to ſo extraordinary a mark of his Majeſty's favour; what was the price of the patent he has bought, and to what honourable purpoſe the purchaſe-money has been applied. Nothing leſs than many thouſands could

pay Colonel Burgoyne's expences at Preſton. Do you dare to proſecute ſuch a creature as Vaughan, while you are baſely ſelling up the royal patronage to auction? Do you dare to complain of an attack upon your own honour, while you are ſelling the favours of the crown, to raiſe a fund for corrupting the morals of the people? And, do you think it poſſible ſuch enormities ſhould eſcape without impeachment? It is indeed highly your intereſt to maintain the preſent Houſe of Commons. Having ſold the nation to you in groſs, they will undoubtedly protect you in the detail; for while they patroniſe your crimes, they feel for their own.

JUNIUS.

Dec. 13th, 1769.

To his Grace the D—e of G——.

MY LORD,

I Find, with ſome ſurpriſe, that you are not ſupported as you deſerve. Your moſt determined advocates have ſcruples about them, which you are unacquainted with; and, though there be nothing too hazardous for your Grace to engage in, there are ſome things too infamous for the vileſt proſtitute of a news-paper to defend. In what other manner ſhall we account for the profound, ſubmiſſive ſilence, which you and your friends have obſerved upon a charge which called immediately for the cleareſt refutation, and would have juſtified the ſevereſt meaſures of reſentment? I did not attempt to blaſt your character by an indirect, ambiguous

nuous insinuation, but candidly stated to you a plain fact, which struck directly at the integrity of a privy counsellor, of a first commissioner of the treasury, and of a leading minister, who is supposed to enjoy the first share in his Majesty's confidence. In every one of these capacities I employed the most moderate terms to charge you with treachery to your Sovereign, and breach of trust in your office. I accused you of having sold, or permitted to be sold, a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter to one Mr. Hine, who, unable or unwilling to deposite the whole purchase-money himself, raised part of it by contribution, and has now a certain Doctor Brooke quartered upon the salary for one hundred pounds a year.—No sale by the candle was ever conducted with greater formality. —I affirm that the price, at which the place was knocked down (and which, I have good reason to think, was not less than three thousand five hundred pounds) was, with your connivance and consent, paid to Colonel Burgoyne, to reward him, I presume, for the decency of his deportment at Preston; or to reimburse him, perhaps, for the fine of one thousand pounds, which, for that very deportment, the Court of King's Bench thought proper to set upon him. — It is not often that the chief justice and the prime minister are so strangely at variance in their opinions of men and things.

I thank God there is not in human nature a degree of impudence daring enough to deny the charge I have fixed upon you. Your courteous secretary, your confidential architect are silent as the grave. Even Mr. Rigby's countenance fails him. He violates his second nature, and blushes whenever he speakes of you.—Perhaps the noble Colonel himself will relieve you. No man is more tender of his reputation. He is not only nice, but perfectly sore, in every thing that touches his honour. If any

man,

man, for example, were to accuſe him of taking his ſtand at a gaming table, and watching, with the ſobereſt attention, for a fair opportunity of engaging a drunken young nobleman at piquet, he would undoubtedly conſider it as an infamous aſperſion upon his character, and reſent it like a man of honour.—Acquitting him therefore of drawing a regular and ſplendid ſubſiſtance from any unworthy practices either in his own houſe or elſewhere, let me aſk your grace, for what military merits you have been pleaſed to reward him with a military government? He had a regiment of dragoons, which, one would imagine, was at leaſt an equivalent for any ſervices he ever performed. Beſides, he is but a young officer conſidering his preferment, and, excepting his activity at Preſton, not very conſpicuous in his profeſſion. But it ſeems, the ſale of a civil employment was not ſufficient, and military governments, which were intended for the ſupport of worn out veterans, muſt be thrown into the ſcale, to defray the extenſive bribery of a conteſted election. Are theſe the ſteps you take to ſecure to your ſovereign the attachment of his army! With what countenance dare you appear in the royal preſence, branded as you are with the infamy of a notorious breach of truſt? With what countenance can you take your ſeat at the treaſury board or in council, when you feel that every circulating whiſper is at your expence alone, and ſtabs you to the heart? Have you a ſingle friend in parliament ſo ſhameleſs, ſo thoroughly abandoned, as to undertake your defence? You know, my lord, that there is not a man in either houſe, whoſe character, however flagitious, would not be ruined by mixing his reputation with yours; and does not your heart inform you, that you are degraded below the condition of a man, when you are obliged to hear theſe inſults with ſubmiſſion, and even to thank me for my moderation?

We are told, by the highest judicial authority, that Mr. Vaughan's offer to purchase the reversion of a patent in Jamaica (which he was otherwise sufficiently entitled to) amounted to a high misdemeanor. Be it so; and if he deserves it, let him be punished. But the learned judge might have had a fairer opportunity of displaying the powers of his eloquence. Having delivered himself with so much energy upon the criminal nature, and dangerous consequences of any attempt to corrupt a man in your grace's station, what would he have said to the minister himself, to that very privy counsellor, to that first commissioner of the treasury, who does not wait for, but impatiently solicits the touch of corruption; who employs the meanest of his creatures in these honourable services, and, forgetting the genius and fidelity of his secretary, descends to apply to his house-builder for assistance?

This affair, my lord, will do infinite credit to government, if, to clear your character, you should think proper to bring it into the ——of——, or into the court of K---g's B——h. But, my lord, you dare not do either.

JUNIUS.

December 19, 1769.

When the complaints of a brave and powerful people are observed to encrease in proportion to the wrongs they have suffered; when, instead of sinking into submission, they are roused to resistance, the time will soon arrive at which every inferior consideration must yield to the security of the sovereign, and to the general safety of the state. There is a moment of difficulty and danger,

ger, at which flattery and falſhood can no longer deceive, and ſimplicity itſelf can no longer be miſled. Let us ſuppoſe it arrived. Let us ſuppoſe a gracious, well-intentioned prince, made ſenſible at laſt of the great duty he owes to his people, and of his own diſgraceful ſituation; that he looks round him for aſſiſtance, and aſks for no advice, but how to gratify the wiſhes, and ſecure the happineſs of his ſubjects. In theſe circumſtances it may be matter of curious SPECULATION to conſider, if an honeſt man were permitted to approach a king, in what terms he would addreſs himſelf to his ſovereign. Let it be imagined, no matter how improbable, that the firſt prejudice againſt his character is removed, that the ceremonious difficulties of an audience are ſurmounted, that he feels himſelf animated by the pureſt and moſt honourable affections to his king and country, and that the great perſon, whom he addreſſes, has ſpirit enough to bid him ſpeak freely, and underſtanding enough to liſten to him with attention. Unacquainted with the vain impertinence of forms, he would deliver his ſentiments with dignity and firmneſs, but not without reſpect.

SIR,

IT is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cauſe of every reproach and diſtreſs, which has attended your government, that you ſhould never have been acquainted with the language of truth, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. It is not, however, too late to correct the error of your education. We are ſtill inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the pernicious leſſons you received in your youth, and to form

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the moſt ſanguine hopes from the natural benevolence of your diſpoſition. We are far from thinking you capable of a direct, deliberate purpoſe to invade thoſe original rights of your ſubjects, on which all their civil and political liberties depend. Had it been poſſible for us to entertain a ſuſpicion ſo diſhonourable to your character, we ſhould long ſince have adopted a ſtyle of remonſtrance very diſtant from the humility of complaint. The doctrine inculcated by our laws, *That the King can do no Wrong*, is admitted without reluctance. We ſeparate the amiable good-natured prince from the folly and treachery of his ſervants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government. Were it not for this juſt diſtinction, I know not whether your m——y's condition, or that of the E——ſh nation, would deſerve moſt to be lamented. I would prepare your mind for a favourable reception of truth, by removing every painful, offenſive idea of perſonal reproach. Your ſubjects, ſir, wiſh for nothing but that, as *they* are reaſonable and affectionate enough to ſeparate your perſon from your government, ſo *you*, in your turn, ſhould diſtinguiſh between the conduct, which becomes the permanent dignity of a k—g, and that which ſerves only to promote the temporary intereſt and miſerable ambition of a miniſter.

You aſcended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a ſincere reſolution of giving univerſal ſatisfaction to your ſubjects. You found them pleaſed with the novelty of a young prince, whoſe countenance promiſed even more than his words, and loyal to you not only from principle, but paſſion. It was not a cold profeſſion of allegiance to the firſt magiſtrate, but a partial, animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country. They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave

you a generous credit for the future bleſſings of your reign, and paid you in advance the deareſt tribute of their affections. Such, ſir, was once the diſpoſition of a people, who now ſurround your throne with reproaches and complaints. Do juſtice to yourſelf. Baniſh from your mind thoſe unworthy opinions with which ſome intereſted perſons have laboured to poſſeſs you. Diſtruſt the men, who tell you that the Engliſh are naturally light and inconſtant;—that they complain without a cauſe. Withdraw your confidence equally from all parties; from miniſters, favourites, and relations; and let there be one moment in your life in which you have conſulted your own underſtanding.

When you affectedly renounced the name of Engliſhman, believe me, ſir, you were perſuaded to pay a very ill-judged compliment to one part of your ſubjects, at the expence of another. While the natives of Scotland are not in actual rebellion, they are undoubtedly intitled to protection; nor do I mean to condemn the policy of giving ſome encouragement to the novelty of their affections for the houſe of Hanover. I am ready to hope for every thing from their new-born zeal, and from the future ſteadineſs of their allegiance. But hitherto they have no claim to your favour. To honour them with a determined predilection and confidence, in excluſion of your Engliſh ſubjects, who placed your family, and, in ſpight of treachery and rebellion, have ſupported it upon the t——ne, is a miſtake too groſs, even for the unſuſpecting generoſity of youth. In this error we ſee a capital violation of the moſt obvious rules of policy and prudence. We trace it, however, to an original bias in your education, and are ready to allow for your inexperience.

To the ſame early influence we attribute it, that you have deſcended to take a ſhare not only in the narrow

harrow views and intereſts of particular perſons, but in the fatal malignity of their paſſions. At your acceſſion to the throne, the whole ſyſtem of government was altered, not from wiſdom or deliberation, but becauſe it had been adopted by your predeceſſor. A little, perſonal motive of pique and reſentment was ſufficient to remove the ableſt ſervants of the crown; but it is not in this country, ſir, that ſuch men can be diſhonoured by the frowns of a k——. They were diſmiſſed, but could not be diſgraced. Without entering into a minuter diſcuſſion of the merits of the peace, we may obſerve, in the imprudent hurry with which the firſt overtures from France were accepted, in the conduct of the negotiation, and terms of the treaty, the ſtrongeſt marks of that precipitate ſpirit of conceſſion, with which a certain part of your ſubjects have been at all times ready to purchaſe a peace with the natural enemies of this country. On *your* part we are ſatisfied that every thing was honourable and ſincere, and if E——d was ſold to F—e, we doubt not that your M——y was equally betrayed. The conditions of the peace were matter of grief and ſurpriſe to your ſubjects, but not the immediate cauſe of their preſent diſcontent.

Hitherto, Sir, you had been ſacrificed to the prejudices and paſſions of others. With what firmneſs will you bear the mention of your own?

A man, not very honourably diſtinguiſhed in the world, commences a formal attack upon your favourite, conſidering nothing, but how he might beſt expoſe his perſon and principles to deteſtation, and the national character of his countrymen to contempt. The natives of that country, ſir, are as much diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar character as by your majeſty's favour. Like another choſen people, they have been conducted into the Land of Plenty, where they find themſelves effectually marked,

and divided from mankind. There is hardly a period, at which the moſt irregular character may not be redeemed. The miſtakes of one ſex find a retreat in patriotiſm; thoſe of the other in devotion. Mr. Wilkes brought with him into politics the ſame liberal ſentiments by which his private conduct had been directed, and ſeemed to think that, as there are few exceſſes, in which an Engliſh gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the ſame latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the ſpirit of maintaining them.—I mean to ſtate, not entirely to defend his conduct. In the earneſtneſs of his zeal, he ſuffered ſome unwarrantable inſinuations to eſcape him. He ſaid more than moderate men would juſtify; but not enough to entitle him to the honour of your m——y's perſonal reſentment. The rays of r—l indignation, collected upon him, ſerved only to illuminate, and could not conſume. Animated by the favour of the people on one ſide, and heated by perſecution on the other, his views and ſentiments changed with his ſituation. Hardly ſerious at firſt, he is now an enthuſiaſt. The coldeſt bodies warm with oppoſition, the hardeſt ſparkle in colliſion. There is a holy miſtaken zeal in politics as well as religion. By perſuading others, we convince ourſelves. The paſſions are engaged, and create a material affection in the mind, which forces us to love the cauſe for which we ſuffer.—Is this a contention worthy of a k—? Are you not ſenſible how much the meanneſs of the cauſe gives an air of ridicule to the ſerious difficulties, into which you have been betrayed? The deſtruction of one man has been now, for many years, the ſole object of your government, and if there can be any thing ſtill more diſgraceful, we have ſeen, for ſuch an object, the utmoſt in-

fluence

fluence of the executive power and every miniſterial artifice exerted without ſucceſs. Nor can you ever ſucceed, unleſs *he* ſhould be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of thoſe laws, to which you owe your c---n, or unleſs your miniſters ſhould perſuade you to make it a queſtion of force alone, and try the whole ſtrength of government in oppoſition to the people. The leſſons *he* has received from experience will probably guard him from ſuch exceſs of folly; and in you M---y's virtues we find an unqueſtionable aſſurance that no illegal violence will be attempted.

Far from ſuſpecting you of ſo horrible a deſign, we would attribute the continued violation of the laws, and even this laſt enormous attack upon the vital principles of the conſtitution, to an ill-adviſed, unworthy, perſonal reſentment. From one falſe ſtep you have been betrayed into another, and as the cauſe was unworthy of you, your miniſters were determined that the prudence of the execution ſhould correſpond with the wiſdom and dignity of the deſign. They have reduced you to the neceſſity of chooſing out of a variety of difficulties;—to a ſituation ſo unhappy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, nor right without affliction. Theſe worthy ſervants have undoubtedly given you many ſingular proofs of their abilities. Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they have judiciouſly tranſferred the queſtion from the rights and intereſts of one man to the moſt important rights and intereſts of the people, and forced your ſubjects, from wiſhing well to the cauſe of an individual, to unite with him in their own. Let them proceed as they have begun, and your M-----y need not doubt that the cataſtrophe will do no diſhonour to the conduct of the piece.

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The circumſtances to which you are reduced will not admit of a compromiſe with the Engliſh nation. Undeciſive, qualifying meaſures will diſgrace your government ſtill more than open violence, and, without ſatisfying the people, will excite their contempt. They have too much underſtanding and ſpirit to accept of an indirect ſatisfaction for a direct injury. Nothing leſs than a repeal, as formal as the reſolution itſelf, can heal the wound, which has been given to the conſtitution, nor will any thing leſs be accepted. I can readily believe that there is an influence ſufficient to recall that pernicious vote. The h--- of ---- undoubtedly conſider their duty to the c---n as paramount to all other obligations. To *us* they are only indebted for an accidental exiſtence, and have juſtly transferred their gratitude from their parents to their benefactors;---from thoſe, who gave them birth, to the miniſter, from whoſe benevolence they derive the comforts and pleaſures of their political life;---who has taken the tendereſt care of their infancy, relieves their neceſſities without offending their delicacy, and has given them, what they value moſt, a virtuous education. But if it were poſſible for their integrity to be degraded to a condition ſo vile and abject, that, compared with it, the preſent eſtimation they ſtand in, is a ſtate of honour and reſpect, conſider, Sir, in what manner you will afterwards proceed. Can you conceive that the people of this country will long ſubmit to be governed by ſo flexible a h--- of ------- ? It is not in the nature of human ſociety, that any form of government, in ſuch circumſtances, can long be preſerved. In ours the general contempt of the people is as fatal as their deteſtation. Such, I am perſuaded, would be the neceſſary effect of any baſe conceſſion made by the preſent h---- of -------, and, as a qualifying meaſure,

would

would not be accepted, it remains for you to decide whether you will, at any hazard, ſupport a ſet of men, who have reduced you to this unhappy dilemma, or whether you will gratify the united wiſhes of the whole people of England by diſſolving the p——.

Taking it for granted, as I do very ſincerely, that you have perſonally no deſign againſt the conſtitution, nor any views inconſiſtent with the good of your ſubjects, I think you cannot heſitate long upon the choice, which it equally concerns your intereſt, and your honour to adopt. On one ſide, you hazard the affections of all your Engliſh ſubjects; you relinquiſh every hope of repoſe to yourſelf, and you endanger the eſtabliſhment of your family for ever. All this you venture for no object whatſoever, or for ſuch an object, as it would be an affront to you to name. Men of ſenſe will examine your conduct with ſuſpicion; while thoſe who are incapable of comprehending to what degree they are injured, afflict you with clamours equally inſolent and unmeaning. Suppoſing it poſſible that no fatal ſtruggle ſhould enſue, you determine at once to be unhappy, without the hope of a compenſation either from intereſt or ambition. If an E——h k—e be hated or deſpiſed, he *muſt* be unhappy; and this perhaps is the only political truth, which he ought to be convinced of without experiment. But if the Engliſh people ſhould no longer confine their reſentment to a ſubmiſſive repreſentation of their wrongs; if, following the glorious example of their anceſtors, they ſhould no longer appeal to the creature of the conſtitution, but to that high Being, who gave them the rights of humanity, whoſe gifts it were ſacrilege to ſurrender, let me aſk you, Sir, upon what part of your ſubjects would you rely for aſſiſtance?

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The people of I---l---d have been uniformly plundered and oppreſſed. In return, they give you every day freſh marks of their reſentment. They deſpiſe the miſerable governor you have ſent them, becauſe he is the creature of lord Bute; nor is it from any natural confuſion in their ideas, that they are ſo ready to confound the original of a k---- with the diſgraceful repreſentation of him.

The diſtance of the Colonies would make it impoſſible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your perſon. They were ready enough to diſtinguiſh between *you* and your miniſters. They complained of an act of the legiſlature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the ſervants of the c——n: They pleaſed themſelves with the hope that their f---r---n, if not favourable to their cauſe, at leaſt was impartial. The deciſive, perſonal part you took againſt them, has effectually baniſhed that firſt diſtinction from their minds. They conſider you as united with your ſervants againſt A---r---a, and know how to diſtinguiſh the f----r----n and a venal p---------t on one ſide, from the real ſentiments of the Engliſh people on the other. Looking forward to independence, they might poſſibly receive you for their k--g; but, if ever you retire to A---r---a, be aſſured they will give you ſuch a covenant to digeſt, as the preſbytery of Scotland would have been aſhamed to offer to Charles the ſecond. They left their native land in ſearch of freedom, and found it in a deſart. Divided as they are into a thouſand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree: They equally deteſt the pageantry of a k---g, and the ſupercilious hypocriſy of a biſhop.

It is not then from the alienated affections of I---l---d or A---r---a, that you can reaſonably look for

for aſſiſtance; ſtill leſs from the people of E---l---d, who are actually contending for their rights, and in this great queſtion, are parties againſt you. You are not however, deſtitute of every appearance of ſupport: You have all the Jacobites, Nonjurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories of this country, and all S—l—d without exception. Conſidering from what family you are deſcended, the choice of your friends has been ſingularly directed; and truly, Sir, if you had not loſt the whig intereſt of England, I ſhould admire your dexterity in turning the hearts of your enemies. Is it poſſible for you to place any confidence in men, who, before they are faithful to you, muſt renounce every opinion, and betray every principle, both in church and ſtate, which they inherit from their anceſtors, and are confirmed in by their education? whoſe numbers are ſo inconſiderable, that they have long ſince been obliged to give up the principles and language which diſtinguiſhed them as a party, and to fight under the banners of their enemies? Their zeal begins with hypocriſy, and muſt conclude in treachery. At firſt they deceive; at laſt they betray.

As to the Scotch, I muſt ſuppoſe your heart and underſtanding ſo biaſſed, from your earlieſt infancy, in their favour, that nothing leſs than *your own* misfortunes can undeceive you. You will not accept of the uniform experience of your anceſtors; and when once a man is determined to believe, the very abſurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his faith. A bigotted underſtanding can draw a proof of atttachment to the houſe of H—n—r from a notorious zeal for the houſe of Stuart, and find an earneſt of future loyalty in former rebellions. Appearances are however in their favour; ſo ſtrongly indeed, that one would think they had forgotten that you are their lawful k—, and had miſtaken you for a pretender to the

c---n.

c---n. Let it be admitted then that the Scotch are as ſincere in their preſent profeſſions, as if you were in reality not an Engliſhman, but a Briton of the North, you would not be the firſt p---ce of their native country againſt whom they have rebelled, nor the firſt whom they have baſely betrayed. Have you forgotten, Sir, or has your favourite concealed from you that part of our hiſtory, when the unhappy Charles (and he too had private virtues) fled from the open avowed indignation of his Engliſh ſubjects, and ſurrendered himſelf at diſcretion to the good faith of his own countrymen. Without looking for ſupport in their affections as ſubjects, he applied only to their honour as gentlemen, for protection. They received him as they would your m-----y, with bows, and ſmiles, and falſehood, and kept him until they had ſettled their bargain with the Engliſh parliament; then baſely ſold their native k -- to the vengeance of his enemies. This, Sir, was not the act of a few traitors, but the deliberate treachery of a Scotch parliament repreſenting the nation. A wiſe p---ce might draw from it two leſſons of equal utility to himſelf. On one ſide he might learn to dread the undiſguiſed reſentment of a generous people, who dare openly aſſert their rights, and who, in a juſt cauſe, are ready to meet their ſo------n in the field. On the other ſide, he would be taught to apprehend ſomething far more formidable ;--------a fawning treachery, againſt which no prudence can guard, no courage can defend. The inſidious ſmiles upon the cheek would warn him of the canker in the heart.

From the uſes, to which one part of the army has been too frequently applied, you have ſome reaſon to expect, that there are no ſervices they would refuſe. Here too we trace the partiality of your underſtanding. You take the ſenſe of the army

army from the conduct of the guards, with the ſame juſtice with which you collect the ſenſe of the people from the repreſentations of the miniſtry. Your marching regiments, Sir, will not make the guards their example either as ſoldiers or ſubjects. They feel and reſent, as they ought to do, that invariable, undiſtinguiſhing favour with which the guards are treated; while thoſe gallant troops, by whom every hazardous, every laborious ſervice is performed, are left to periſh in garriſons abroad, or pine in quarters at home, neglected and forgotten. If they had no ſenſe of the great original duty they owe their country, their reſentment would operate like patriotiſm, and leave your cauſe to be defended by thoſe to whom you have laviſhed the rewards and honours of their profeſſion. The prætorian bands, enervated and debauched as they were, had ſtill ſtrength enough to awe the Roman populace: but when the diſtant legions took the alarm, they marched to Rome, and gave away the empire.

On this ſide then, which ever way you turn your eyes, you ſee nothing but perplexity and diſtreſs. You may determine to ſupport the very miniſtry who have reduced your affairs to this deplorable ſituation: you may ſhelter yourſelf under the forms of a p——t, and ſet your people at defiance. But be aſſured, Sir, that ſuch a reſolution would be as imprudent as it would be odious. If it did not immediately ſhake your eſtabliſhment, it would rob you of your peace of mind for ever.

On the other, how different is the proſpect! How eaſy, how ſafe and honourable is the path before you! The Engliſh nation declare they are groſsly injured by their repreſentatives, and ſolicit your M——— to exert your lawful prerogative, and give them an opportunity of recalling a truſt,

which, they find, has been ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed You are not to be told that the power of the H——— of ——— is not original, but delegated to them for the welfare of the people, from whom they received it. A queſtion of right ariſes between the conſtituent and the repreſentative body. By what authority ſhall it be decided? Will your M——— interfere in a queſtion in which you have properly no immediate concern? It would be a ſtep equally odious and unneceſſary. Shall the lords be called upon to determine the rights and privileges of the commons? They cannot do it without a flagrant breach of the conſtitution. Or will you refer it to the judges? They have often told your anceſtors, that the law of parliament is above them. What party then remains but to leave it to the people to determine for themſelves? They alone are injured; and ſince there is no ſuperiour power to which the cauſe can be referred, they alone ought to determine.

I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument upon a ſubject already ſo diſcuſſed, that inſpiration could hardly throw a new light upon it. There are, however, two points of view, in which it particularly imports your M——— to conſider the late proceedings of the h—— of ——. By depriving a ſubject of his birthright, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legiſlature; and, tho' perhaps not with the ſame motives, have ſtrictly followed the example of the long parliament, which firſt declared the regal office uſeleſs, and ſoon after, with as little ceremony, diſſolved the houſe of lords. The ſame pretended power which robs an Engliſh ſubject of his birthright, may rob an Engliſh k—— of his c——n. In another view, the reſolution of the h—— of ——, apparently not

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ſo dangerous to your M——, is ſtill more alarming to your people. Not contented with diveſting one man of his right, they have arbitrarily conveyed that right to another. They have ſet aſide a return as illegal, without daring to cenſure thoſe officers who were particularly apprized of Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, not only by the declaration of the h—, but expreſsly by the writ directed to them, and who nevertheleſs returned him as duly elected. They have rejected the majority of votes, the only criterion by which our laws judge of the ſenſe of the people; they have transferred the right of election from the collective to the repreſentative body; and by theſe acts, taken ſeparately or together, they have eſſentially altered the original conſtitution of the h—— of ——. Verſed, as your M——— undoubtedly is, in the Engliſh hiſtory, it cannot eaſily eſcape you, how much it is your intereſt, as well as your duty to prevent one of the three eſtates from encroaching upon the province of the other two, or aſſuming the authority of them all. When once they have departed from the great conſtitutional line, by which all their proceedings ſhould be directed, who will anſwer for their future moderation? Or what aſſurance will they give you that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will ſubmit to a ſuperior? Your M——— may learn hereafter, how nearly the ſlave and tyrant are allied.

Some of your council, more candid than the reſt, admit the abandoned profligacy of the preſent h—— of———, but oppoſe their diſſolution upon an opinion, I confeſs not very unwarrantable, that their ſucceſſors would be equally at the diſpoſal of the treaſury. I cannot perſuade myſelf that the nation will have profited ſo little by experience. But if that opinion were well founded, you might then gratify our wiſhes at an eaſy rate, and appeaſe

the present clamour against your government without suffering any material injury to the favourite cause of corruption.

You have still an honourable part to act. The affections of your subjects may still be recovered. But before you subdue *their* hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own. Discard those interpersonal resentments which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man the remainder of his punishment, and if resentment still prevails, make it, what it should have been long since, ridicule, not of mercy, but contempt. He will soon fall back into into his natural station,— a silent senator, and hardly supporting the weekly eloquence of a news-paper. The gentle breath of peace would leave him on the surface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempest that lifts him from his place.

Without consulting your minister, call together your whole council. Let it appear to the public that you can determine and act for yourself. Come forward to your people. Lay aside the wretched formalities of a k——, and speak to your subjects with the spirit of a man, and in the language of a gentleman. Tell them you have been fatally deceived. The acknowledgment will be no disgrace, but rather an honour to your understanding. Tell them you are determined to remove every cause of complaint against your government; that you will give your confidence to no man who does not possess the confidence of your subjects; and that you will leave it to themselves to determine, by their conduct at a future election, whether or no it be in reality the general sense of the nation, that their rights have been arbitrarily invaded by the present h——t of ——, and the constitution betrayed. They will then do justice to their representatives and to themselves.

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Theſe ſentiments, Sir, and the ſtyle they are conveyed in, may be offenſive, perhaps, becauſe they are new to you. Accuſtomed to the language of courtiers, you meaſure their affections by the vehemence of their expreſſions; and when they only praiſe you indirectly, you admire their ſincerity. But this is not a time to trifle with your fortune. They deceive you, Sir, who tell you that you have many friends, whoſe affections are founded upon a principle of perſonal attachments. The firſt foundation of friendſhip is not the power of conferring benefits, but the equality with which they are received, and *may* be returned. The fortune which made you a k— forbad you to have a friend. It is a law of nature which cannot be violated with impunity. The miſtaken p——e, who looks for friendſhip, will find a favourite, and in that favourite the ruin of his affairs.

The people of E—gl—d are loyal to the Houſe of Ha—ver, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the eſtabliſhment of that family was neceſſary to the ſupport of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is a principle of allegiance equally ſolid and rational, fit for Engliſhmen to adopt, and well worthy of your M—y's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal diſtinctions. The name of Stewart, of itſelf, is only contemptible; —armed with the ſovereign authority, their principles were formidable. The Prince, who imitates their conduct, ſhould be warned by their example; and while he plumes himſelf upon the ſecurity of of his title to the crown, ſhould remember, that as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be loſt by another.

JUNIUS.